

Message Text

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TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

XMT AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

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FOL REPEAT GENEVA 4741 ACTION SECSTATE PRETORIA JOHANNESBURG

USUN INFO ABIDJAN ACCRA BONN BRUSSELS DAKAR DAR ES SALAAM

GABORONE KINSHASA LAGOS LONDON LUSAKA LIBREVILLE MOSCOW NAIROBI

PARIS PRAGUE ROME STOCKHOLM TOKYO WELLINGTON MELBOURNE MAPUTO

OTTAWA TEL AVIV ADDIS ABABA DTD 14 JUN.

QUOTE

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USEEC

FOR DEPARTMENT: REPEAT AS DESIRED; POUCH THIS MESSAGE

AND REFTEL TO OTHER AF POSTS.

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PLAB, ILO, UN, SF

SUBJ: SECOND INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFERENCE AGAINST

APARTHEID, JUNE 10-11, 1977

REF: GENEVA 4671

1. SUMMARY: SECOND INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFERENCE FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID HELD IN GENEVA, JUNE 10-11, 1977. CONFERENCE ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS AND WITHOUT AMENDMENT DRAFT RESOLUTION (REFTEL). DISCUSSION INDICATED MANY DELEGATES PREFERRED STRONGER STATEMENT CONTAINING SPECIFIC ACTION PROGRAM, BUT QUICK GAVEL BY JOE MORRIS, CANADIAN CHAIRMAN OF ILO WORKERS GROUP, AVOIDED MOVING FROM FLOOR OF PROPOSED AMENDMENTS. RESOLUTION MET SOVIET OBJECTIVE OF CREATING ON-GOING COMMITTEE INCLUDING COMMUNIST-DOMINATED WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (WFTU). WESTERN-ORIENTED INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU) FORESTALLED MOVE TO DESIGNATE EXILE SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS (SACTU), SWAPO-AFFILIATED NAMIBIAN WORKERS UNION AND ZIMBABWE AFRICAN CONGRESS OF UNIONS AS ONLY QUOTE TRUE AND AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVES UNQUOTE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WORKERS BY INCLUDING CLAUSE IN RESOLUTION CALLING FOR SUPPORT OF AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA. PENULTIMATE CLAUSE OF RESOLUTION CONTAINING AMBIGUOUS WORDING AS TO WHICH AFRICAN TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS WOULD PARTICIPATE IN CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE FUZZED BY ICFTU TO FURTHER AVOID DESIGNATING SPECIFIC REPRESENTATIVES THROUGH WHOM ALL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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AID WOULD THEN PRESUMABLY BE FUNNELED. IN ADDITION TO REGULAR ILO WORKERS' DELEGATES, APARTHEID CONFERENCE ADDRESSED BY ILO DIRGEN BLANCHARD; UN ASSISTANT SEC GEN FARAH; AMB. LESLIE HARRIMAN, CHAIRMAN OF UN SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON APARTHEID; OAU, ICFTU, WFTU, WCL, OATUU, EXILED SOUTH AFRICAN, ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA TRADE UNION LEADERS. HARRIMAN ANNOUNCED WORLD CONFERENCE ON APARTHEID IN LAGOS, AUGUST 22-26, 1977. EUROPEANS, PARTICULARLY EASTERN EUROPEANS, AND LATIN AMERICANS DELEGATES DOMINATED PODIUM WITH ONLY MODEST AFRICAN PARTICIPATION. AFL-CIO REP DID NOT RPT NOT ADDRESS CONFERENCE. NUMBER OF SPEAKERS LINKED ZIONISM AND APARTHEID. OTHERS, ESPECIALLY LATIN AMERICANS, LIKENED APARTHEID TO SIMILAR DISCRIMINATION IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES ENGENDERED BY QUOTE SAME IMPERIALIST/CAPITALIST/ COLONIALIST/RACIST FORCES UNQUOTE. WESTERN GOVERNMENTS AND MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS ACCUSED BY MANY OF BEING MAIN SUPPORTERS OF SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. NUMEROUS CALLS MADE FOR BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICA, RECOGNITION OF BLACK UNIONS, DISINVESTMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. SECOND INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFERENCE FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID HELD GENEVA, JUNE 10-11, 1977,

CONCURRENT WITH 63RD INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE.
CONFERENCE CHAIRED BY JOE MORRIS, CANADIAN WORKER
DELEGATE AND CHAIRMAN OF ILO WORKERS GROUP. MORRIS
NOTED RESULTS OF FIRST CONFERENCE, HELD IN 1973, MUST
BE REVIEWED AND MOVEMENT MADE TOWARD ACTION PROGRAM.
CONFERENCE ADDRESSED BY ILO DIRGEN BLANCHARD WHO NOTED
NEED FOR ASSISTING BLACK WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA,
NAMIBIA, ZIMBABWE. UN ASSISTANT SECGEN FARAH CONVEYED
BEST WISHES OF UN SECGEN WALDHEIM AND REFERRED TO
CONFERENCE AS BEING ON HUMAN RIGHTS, NOT SIMPLY WAGES
AND WORKING CONDITIONS. BASIS OF ANTI-APARTHEID ACOION
LAY IN UN CHARTER AND UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN
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RIGHTS, PARTICULARLY ART. 23 WHICH CONCERNS RIGHT TO
WORK, FREE CHOICE OF EMPLOYMENT, JUST CONDITIONS OF
WORK, EQUAL PAY, TRADE UNION FREEDOM, ETC. PROMISED
CONFERENCE RESULTS WOULD BE GIVEN FULL AND APPROPRIATE
UN ATTENTION.

2. AMB. HARRIMAN, CHAIRMAN OF UN SPECIAL COMMITTEE
ON APARTHEID, SAID SPECIAL COMMITTEE PLEASED TO BE
AMONG SPONSORS OF CONFERENCE. NOTED THAT ANTI-APART-
HEID STRUGGLE REQUIRES CONCERTED ACTION BY GOVERNMENTS
AND TRADE UNIONS. REJECTED CONCEPT OF QUOTE WELL-
MEANING PEOPLE UNQUOTE THAT CONTACT WITH SOUTH AFRICAN
GOVERNMENT WOULD LEAD TO AMELIORATION OF CONDITIONS IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA. ANNOUNCED WORLD CONFERENCE ON
APARTHEID IN LAGOS, AUGUST 22-26 TO WHICH GOVERNMENTS
TRADE UNIONS, OTHER ORGANIZATIONS BEING INVITED.

3. OAU REPRESENTATIVE, ACTING POLITICAL DIRECTOR
NZOMWITA, ASSERTED LEGITIMACY OF ARMED STRUGGLE. CALLED
FOR STRICT GENERAL AND OBLIGATORY SANCTIONS AGAINST
SOUTH AFRICA LEADING TO TOTAL EMBARGO BEGINNING WITH
IMMEDIATE COMMUNICATIONS BOYCOTT.

4. ICFTU REP KAILEMBO REGRETTED THAT IN SPITE OF
LONG CAMPAIGN LITTLE REALCHANGE IN APARTHEID. CALLED
FOR ACTION AGAINST WHIE EMIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA,
FOREIGN INVESTMENT WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS CORNERSTONE
OF APARTHEID AND FOR COORDINATED ASSISTANCE TO
WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA. SAID ICFTU MAINTAINS REGULAR
CONTACT WITH BLACK, UNREGISTERED UNIONS. WFTU GENSEC GENSOUS
REVIEWED EVENTS SINCE FIRST CONFERENCE, PARTICULARLY
COLLAPSE OF PORTUGUESE EMPIRE AND GROWTH OF SOUTH
AFRICAN, NAMIBIAN, ZIMBABWE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. IN
FACE OF INCREASED SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSIVENESS AND
BRUTALITY, SUSTAINED BY US, BRITAIN, FRANCE, WEST
GERMANY, JAPAN, ISRAEL AND MNCS, MEANS MUST BE FOUND
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TO ASSIST SOUTH AFRICAN WORKERS. CONFERENCE RESOLUTION OUTLINES AREAS OF ACTION. UNIONS ABLE TO ISOLATE SOUTH AFRICA IN CERTAIN WAYS. GENSOUS URGED CREATION OF PERMANENT COORDINATING MECHANISM. JAN KULAKOWSKI OF CHRISTIAN WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOR (WLC) BORE DOWN HARD ON WESTERN SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA, CITING MNC'S AND US CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AMONG OTHERS. SAID UNIONS SHOULD PREVENT GOVERNMENTS FROM WORKING WITH SAG.

5. DENNIS AKUMU, GENSEC OF ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN TRADE UNION UNITY (OATUU), REGRETTED DRAFT RESOLUTION DID NOT OPENLY ADVOCATE ARMED STRUGGLE. WOULD HAVE LIKED COMMITMENT FOR CAMPAIGN TO (A) EXPEL SOUTH AFRICA FROM UN, (B) CLEARLY DEFINE APARTHEID AS A CRIME AGAINST MANKIND WITH (C) PROVISIONS FOR PUNISHING PERPETRATORS AND ENFORCERS. OATUU HAS ESTABLISHED FUND, BEING HELD BY TANZANIAN TRADE UNION NUTA, FOR USE IN OVERTHROWING APARTHEID. APPEAL MADE FOR MORE FUNDS. AKUMU MADE SPECIAL APPEAL TO US, UK, FRENCH, GERMAN ISRAELI WORKERS, WHO HE CLAIMED, ARE IN REALITY HELPING ARM AND SUPPORT SOUTH AFRICA, TO JOIN IN CAMPAIGN. ISRAEL SINGLED OUT AS AN ALLY OF SOUTH AFRICA. AKUMU TOOK NOTICE OF PRESENCE IN PUBLIC GALLERY OF ARTHUR GROBELAAR, GENSEC OF MULTI-RACIAL BUT WHITE-DOMINATED TRADES UNION COUNCIL OF SOUTH AFRICA (TUCSA) TO BLAST WHITE SA UNIONS WHO OPENLY COOPERATE WITH VORSTER REGIME. AKUMU MADE MENTION OF TOO-READY TUCSA ACCEPTANCE OF SAG EXPLANATION OF RECENT BANNINGS OF BLACK TRADE UNION LEADERS AND ADVISORS. SHORTLY AFTER AKUMU SPEECH GROBELAAR AND TUCSA VP STEVE SCHEEPERS ASKED TO LEAVE HALL. SOME DELEGATES, INCLUDING ICFTU REP AND DRAKE KOKA OF SA BLACK ALLIED WORKERS REPORTEDLY UPSET BY GROBELAAR PRESENCE, FEARING TUCSA GENSEC WOULD CARRY STRAIGHT BACK TO SAG ACCOUNT OF SPEECHES WHICH WOULD POSE DANGER FOR SOME SPEAKERS. TUCSA REPS STAYED AWAY FROM REMAINDER OF CONFERENCE BUT WERE AGAIN IN EVIDENCE

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AT REGULAR CONFERENCE MEETINGS BEGINNING JUNE 13.

6. SPOKESMAN FOR EXILED UNIONS, JOHN GAETSEWE OF SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS (SACTU), YA OTTO OF NAMIBIAN WORKERS UNION AND AARON NDHLOVU OF LUSAKA-BASED ZIMBABWE AFRICAN CONGRESS OF UNIONS (ZACU), ALL NOTED LITTLE REAL PROGRESS SINCE 1973 CONFERENCE. GAETSEWE CALLED FOR GREATER INTENSITY OF ACTION YA OTTO DESCRIBED ENORMOUS ECONOMIC, MILITARY AND STRATEGIC

INTERESTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA OF IMPERIALIST REGIMES. SAID THAT IMPERIALIST REGIMES HAVE NOT YET RECOVERED FROM DEFEATS IN INDOCHINA AND PORTUGUESE AFRICA AND ARE AIMING AT DISMANTLING LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS. APARTHEID IS BY-PRODUCT OF IMPERIALISM/CAPITALISM/ COLONIALISM AND CAN BE ELIMINATED ONLY THROUGH THE BARREL OF A GUN. YA OTTO ASKED UNIONS TO (A) REFUSE TO HANDLE, LOAD OR OFF-LOAD MERCHANDISE TO OR FROM SOUTH AFRICA, (B) PRESSURE MNCS TO RECOGNIZE BLACK UNIONS OR, BETTER YET, LEAVE SOUTH AFRICA, (C) PRO-TEST TURNHALLE CONFERENCE, (D) STEP UP SOLIDARITY WITH SWAPO-LED WORKERS OF NAMIBIA. ZACU REP NOTED LITTLE HAD BEEN DONE TO IMPLEMENT 1973 RESOLUTION. ATTACKED ICFTU FOR REFUSING TO JOIN MULTI-UNION PRE-PARATORY COMMITTEE PROPOSED IN 1973 RESOLUTION, ALLEGEDLY PREFERRING TO SET UP OWN ICFTU COORDINATING COMMITTEE. ICFTU ACTION ACCUSED OF STALEMATING EFFECTIVE ACTION. SAID HE UNDERSTOOD ICFTU AGAIN FOLLOWING SAME DIVISIVE TACTIC. (ICFTU RELUCTANCE TO JOIN COMMITTEE WITH WFTU APPARENTLY OVERCOME IN RESOLUTION ADOPTED THIS CONFERENCE.) NDHLOVU URGED (A) CREATION OF PERMANENT ANTI-APARTHEID TRADE UNION COMMITTEE, (B) RECOGNITION OF SACTU, ZACU, NAMIBIAN WORKERS UNION AS ONLY QUOTE TIME AND AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVES OF WORKERS IN THE THREE COUNTRIES UNQUOTE, (C) RECOGNITION BY OAU AND OATUU OF THREE UNIONS, THEREBY FACILITATING INTER-AFRICAN MOVEMENT OF UNION REPS, (D) GRANT BY ILO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF OBSERVER STATUS TO THREE UNIONS, (E) REPRESENTATION OF THREE UNIONS IN ALL COMMISSIONS, COUNCILS, COMMITTEES WORKING PARTIES, ETC.

7. DRAKE KOKA, EXILED-LEADER OF BLACK ALLIED WORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA SPOKE FOR UNIONS STILL OPERATING WITHIN BORDERS OF SOUTH AFRICA. KOKA SAID FINAL SOLUTION LIES SOLELY IN HANDS OF BLACKS, BUT SOLIDARITY NECESSARY TO SUSTAIN BLACK UNIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA. KOKA NOTED DRAFT RESOLUTION NOT MUCH DIFFERENT FROM PREVIOUS STATEMENTS AND DOCUMENTS. HAS SERIOUS MISGIVINGS ABOUT EFFECTIVENESS OF RESOLUTION WHICH FALLS SHORT OF BEING EXPLICIT COMMITMENT. HE CALLED FOR THE CONGRESS TO GO BEYOND THE LIMITS OF THE RESOLUTION. CONCRETE AND RESOLUTE ACTION NEEDED, NOT PAPER PROMISES.

8. FOLLOWING KOKA ADDRESS, APPROXIMATELY FORTY OTHER DELEGATES TOOK PODIUM FOR FIVE-MINUTE SPEECHES DURING TWO DAY CONFERENCE. HEAVY PARTICIPATION BY EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES EMPHASIZED (A) AID TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS BEING GIVEN BY SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, (B) NEED TO ASSIST SACTU, ZACU, SWAPO

(C) BOYCOTT OF AIR AND SHIP LINKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA,
(D) ROLE OF WESTERN MULTI-NATIONALS IN STRENGTHENING
AND SUPPORTING SAG AND APARTHEID, (E) MILITARY
ASSISTANCE BEING RECEIVED BY SAG FROM A NUMBER OF
IMPERIALIST/CAPITALIST/COLONIALIST/RACIST REGIMES.
(THE IMPERIALIST/CAPITALIST/COLONIALIST/RACIST
TERMINOLOGY BECAME THE CODE PHRASE REPEATED BY ALL
EASTERN-EUROPE, MOST THIRD WORLD AND MANY WESTERN-
EUROPE SPEAKERS IN DESCRIBING ROOTS AND SUPPORT OF
APARTHEID AND OTHER DISCRIMINATIONS.)

9. WHILE AGREEING WITH OBJECTIVES OF RESOLUTION SOME
WESTERN DELEGATES, INCLUDING WEST GERMANY AND NETHER-
LANDS, POINTED OUT LEGAL DIFFICULTIES OF ENFORCING
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ANTI-EMIGRATION BAN, DISINVESTMENT OF MNCS, SOLIDARITY
TRADE UNION ACTIONS. SAID FOCUS MUST BE ON INFORMA-
TION IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AS TO TRUE STATE IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA. OTHERS REPEATED CALL FOR ACTION,
HOT WORDS. ONLY A FEW NOTED THAT TOTAL ISOLATION OF
SOUTH AFRICA WOULD HAVE LIKELY EFFECT OF HURTING BLACK
WORKERS FIRST AND HARDEST AND THAT THEREFORE, SLECTED
MEASURES MUST BE CHOSEN. SEVERAL WESTERN-EUROPE
DELEGATES CRITICIZED POLICIES OF OWN GOVERNMENTS, THE
FRENCH GOVERNMENT BEING HIT HARD BY THE CFDT FOR ITS
ALLEGEDLY PRO-SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMIC AND MILITARY
POLICIES.

10. MANY THIRD-WORLD COUNTRIES, LATIN-AMERICANS IN
PARTICULAR, LIKENED APARTHEID TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
CONDITION IN THEIR HOME COUNTRIES, USING THIS LINKAGE
TO ATTACK THE SAME PERCEIVED PERPETRATORS OF INJUSTICE
ON BOTH CONTINENTS. IMPERIALISM/CAPITALISM/COLONIALISM/
RACISM WAS IDENTIFIED AS THE ROOT OF SOUTH AFRICAN,
GUATEMALAN, URUGUAYAN, BOLIVIAN, CHILEAN, ETC.
INJUSTICES. A PARTICULARLY VIRULENT ATTACK ON US
POLICIES IN THE CANAL ZONE WAS MADE BY PANAMANIAN
DELEGATE DESPITE CHAIRMAN'S EFFORT TO KEEP DEBATE
ON APARTHEID. PANAMANIAN AND OTHERS WHO CHAIR TRIED
TO RULE OUT OF ORDER WHEN THEY STRAYED TOO FAR FROM
DISCUSSION OF APARTHEID RECEIVED OVATIONS REFLECTING
GENERAL BIAS BY THIRD WORLD DELEGATES AT PERCEIVED
ATTEMPT TO KEEP THEM FROM SPEAKING OUT AGAINST
PERSONALLY-FELT IMPERIALISM/CAPITALISM/COLONIALISM/
RACISM. SEVERAL SPEAKERS, WHILE SUPPORTING BAN ON WHITE
IMMIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA, ALSO CALLED FOR BAN ON
EMIGRATION TO SOUTH AMERICA OF RHODESIAN WHITES.
LABELED THIS AS IMPORTING APARTHEID INTO SOUTH AFRICA.

11. PLO REP MOHAMMED BADRAN SPOKE IN NAME OF ARAB

UNIONS. US WORKER DELEGATES ABSENTED THEMSELVES DURING
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HIS SPEECH. BADRAN CHARGED THERE IS ALLIANCE BETWEEN
ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA. ALLEGED COMMON CHARACTERISTIC
OF TWO REGIMES WAS TO REINFORCE POLICY OF DISCRIMINATION
THROUGH OCCUPATION AND CONTROL OF TERRITORY BY FORCE.
BOTH REGIMES WERE ELITIST WITH THE ISRAELI EXPLOITING
THE ARABS AND THE SOUTH AFRICANS THE BLACKS. MILITARY
LINKS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES STRENGTHENED THEIR
MUTUAL SUPPORT. NUMBER OF OTHER SPEAKERS ALSO DWELT
HEAVILY ON ISRAELI/SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONSHIP.

12. WHILE RELATIVELY FEW AFRICANS TOOK THE PODIUM,
THOSE THAT DID, INCLUDING DIALLO OF MALI AND GILBERT
PONGAULT OF CENTRAL AFRICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE
AGAINST APARTHEID LAMENTED LACK OF ACTION. RESOLUTION
CATEGORIZED AS ONLY AN INDICATION, A PROCEDURE TO BE
FOLLOWED. ECONOMIC SANCTIONS HAVE BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL.
BOYCOTTS OF AIRLINES AND SHIPS, WHILE FORMALLY APPROVED
BY OAU, HAVE NOT BEEN IMPLEMENTED. CALL NOW IS FOR
ACTION TO MATCH WORDS.

13. COMMENT: OPENING SESSION, AT WHICH MAJOR ADDRESSES
MADE, ATTENDED BY MOST WORKER REPS. SATURDAY SESSION,
JUNE 11, NOTABLE FOR FULL EASTERN EUROPEAN BENCHES,
FAIR REPRESENTATION FROM WESTERN EUROPEANS, ARABS
AND LATIN AMERICANS. ONLY ABOUT A THIRD TO A HALF
OF AFRICAN DELEGATES ATTENDED SATURDAY SESSION.
ABSENCES PARTLY DUE TO FEELING THAT RESOLUTION ALREADY
AGREED UPON AND NOT SUBJECT TO CHANGE. TENOR OF SOME
SPEECHES INDICATES LINGERING SKEPTICISM MIXED WITH
HOPE AS TO PROSPECTS FOR IMPLEMENTING EFFECTIVE
PROGRAM OF ACTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. END OF COMMENT.SORENSEN

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